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JANUARY 1955

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

VOL. 6

9

CRISIS OF McCARTHYISM
THE EDITORS

JOHN BROWN'S LEGACY
ALFRED MAUND

ON THE INQUISITION
HARVEY O'CONNOR

A Good Fight
CORLISS LAMONT

EDITORS . . . LEO HUBERMAN . . . PAUL M. SWEEZY

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MONTHLY REVIEW: Published monthly and copyright, 1954, by Monthly Review, Inc.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 218 West 10th Street, New York 14, New York. Telephone: ORegon 5-6939.
MAILING ADDRESS: 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, New York. Address ALL communications to 66 Barrow Street.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: One year—$3.00 (foreign, $3.50); two years—$5.00 (foreign, $6.00).
By 1st class mail — United States $5; everywhere else $6.
By air mail — No. America $7; So. America $13; Europe $17; Asia $24.
EDITORS: Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy.

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Those of you who read "Southern Schools: Will Racism Be Erased?" in last month's issue must have been appalled by the Louisville "sedition" case. As we go to press, the even more shocking news arrives that Carl Braden, first of the defendants to go on trial, has been found guilty and sentenced to fifteen years and a fine of $5000. This savage sentence, imposed for the "crime" of fighting the very same evil of segregation which the Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional, is unfortunately but the latest of a series of incidents which display the awful perversion of "justice" that fear and hysteria have begotten. Cedric Belfrage, whose real offense is editing the country's only left-wing newspaper with a national circulation, has been

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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THE CRISIS OF McCARTHYISM

A year ago when we attempted to analyze "The Roots and Prospects of McCarthyism" (MR, January 1954), it seemed quite possible that McCarthy and his friends would be able to conquer control of the Republican Party and that the arena of political struggle would soon find McCarthyism pitted against the Democrats. In assessing this prospect, it seemed to us that the decisive advantages lay with the Democrats, not because of their own strength but because of McCarthyism's lack of even a demagogic concern for the welfare of the mass of the people. We concluded that the red menace was likely to decline in importance compared to such basic political issues as falling farm incomes and rising unemployment, that McCarthy's mass following would therefore tend to shrink, and that "the great majority of the American ruling class, which doubtless feels tempted from time to time to seek salvation through fascism, may decide that after all its best interests are served by Democratic-style fair deals and cold wars."

At the time, this seemed to many readers to be a too-optimistic view of the political scene. The fact that McCarthy soon afterward made a number of pronouncements in favor of high-level price supports for farm (especially dairy) products was interpreted as an indication that he was beginning to understand the need for a demagogic social program. As the economic recession deepened during the early months of the year, the outlook for McCarthyism seemed to improve, even as the outlook for democracy and decency grew dim and confused.

Subsequent events have shown, however, that at least for the short run the prospects of McCarthyism were anything but bright. The course and outcome of the censure struggle, followed by McCarthy's public break with Eisenhower on December 7th, mean that McCarthy's bid for control over the Republican Party has been decisively repulsed for the visible future. And the behavior of the McCarthyites in this year's election campaign, culminating in the defeat of a number of their prominent Congressional spokesmen, proves that they are as far as ever from understanding the function of a demagogic social program and still further from actually putting one forward.

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At the beginning of this year, in other words, there seemed to be a danger that we would soon be faced with a united Republican Party under McCarthyite control, campaigning on a platform promising all things to all men. Instead, what we actually find is a Republican Party split down the middle, with McCarthyism becoming increasingly identified with the "traditional" reaction of the American ultra-Right. As far as it goes, this is an encouraging picture. We should try to understand what lies behind it and how it can be made even more encouraging.

There are doubtless many reasons for the failure of McCarthy's drive for control of the Republican Party, but the one to which we attribute greatest importance is the growing and spreading awareness on the part of the American ruling class that atomic warfare would be disastrous for the United States in particular, and for world capitalism in general. The logic of McCarthyism, like the logic of every other national form of fascism, is aggression and war. That is why the shady China Lobby crowd has long been virulently McCarthyite; why such an influential and "respectable" politician as Senator Knowland, as he moves toward outright advocacy of preventive war also throws his support behind McCarthy; why all the frustrated militarists and human butchers in the country flock to the McCarthy standard. To anyone who is convinced that war is the road to national and class suicide, a movement of this kind must appear as a deadly peril; and it is precisely toward this conviction, with all that it implies, that the leaders of American monopoly capitalism have been moving. President Eisenhower, as we have tried to show in these pages on several earlier occasions, is the political representative *par excellence* of this upper stratum of the ruling class: there can be little doubt, it seems to us, that the evolution of his thinking from belligerent "liberationism" in the 1952 election campaign to acceptance of the principle of co-existence in his recent speeches and press conferences accurately reflects the Big Boys' estimate of the world situation. This estimate is simply incompatible with support for, or even benevolent toleration of, McCarthyism. Hence the stiffening resistance within the Republican Party to further McCarthyite encroachments, the isolation of McCarthyism as the extreme right wing of American political life.

But why has McCarthyism allowed itself to be isolated in this fashion? Why has it made no attempt, in the classical manner of fascist movements, to disguise its right-wing character through preaching a form of social demagogy which would enable it to pose as the champion of the people's interests? Why has it allowed itself to become openly identified with all the reactionary ideas and groups which the American people have come to know so well and distrust so profoundly during the last two decades?

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There is no simple answer to these questions, but it seems to us that the main point is reasonably plain: the elements of the ruling class on which McCarthyism is based—the new millionaires, the obscurantist fringe of the aristocracy, the most illiberal section of the Catholic hierarchy*—are not only extremely reactionary in their social views but also totally ignorant of the socio-economic forces shaping the modern world, and hence politically illiterate in the same sense that decaying feudal strata are politically illiterate in much of the rest of the world. Economically, they long for the days of the robber barons when there was no Securities and Exchange Commission and no Bureau of Internal Revenue to get in the way of a man's making his pile; politically, they have matured (or grown old) fighting "reds," labor, Roosevelt, and the New Deal, which are after all pretty much the same thing in right-wing eyes. These people hate government intervention in economic matters; they are unable to distinguish between radicalism and social demagogy and want no part of either.

The situation in European countries was (and is) quite different. There one finds a long and unbroken tradition of government intervention and paternalism which is taken for granted by the Right as well as by the Left. Organized radical movements, enlightened by the rational Marxist interpretation of society and history, have taught leaders of all segments of the population the basic realities of modern capitalist society, and at the same time have conditioned the masses to think in terms of revolutionary change. The pseudo-radicalism of the European fascist movements was a natural product of this environment—and given a renewed period of economic depression, it is quite likely to appear again.

To avoid misunderstanding, it should be emphasized that we are not arguing that American history displays any shortage of pseudo-radical demagogues and demagogy. The point is that in this country there has never yet been a successful marriage between pseudo-radicalism and the extreme Right. Without the financial and social support which the extreme Right could have but never has accorded it, pseudo-radicalism has been unable to establish a lastingly important movement: while the extreme Right has never broken out of its political isolation and made contact with the masses. For a while it may have seemed to some that McCarthyism was going to resolve this dilemma, but the events of the past year have shown that this was a false expectation. The American extreme Right is still allergic to pseudo-radicalism, and neither McCarthy

* For an analysis of the social base of McCarthyism, we must refer the reader to "The Roots and Prospects of McCarthyism" which appeared as the Review of the Month in the January, 1954, issue of MR and is also available as a separate pamphlet at 25c a copy.

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nor his friends have made any attempt to overcome the allergy. Joe's support for higher dairy prices turned out to be no more than what one would expect from a Senator from Wisconsin: on a national scale his one political weapon remains red-baiting.

What the ultra-Right thinks of McCarthy, and expects from him, is well illustrated by an editorial in the *New Hampshire Sunday News* which appeared on January 3, 1954, that is to say, after our earlier analysis of the outlook for McCarthyism was already in print. The *New Hampshire Sunday News,* like its week-day counterpart the *Manchester Union Leader,* is owned and completely dominated by William Loeb, president of the China Policy Association, right-hand man of Senator Styles Bridges, bitter foe of President Eisenhower, and a sort of journalistic bellwether for the whole pro-McCarthy, pro-war crowd. The editorial, which is in Loeb's style if not from his pen, is entitled "The Huey Long Slur." The bulk of its text follows:

> Snipers at Joseph McCarthy are turning to a new wrinkle. Increasingly of late we have noted a tendency to bracket the Wisconsin Senator with the late Huey Long. One thousand college professors attending a "National Speech Association" convention in New York last week were reported by the *New York Times* to have cheered and applauded when the Long-McCarthy parallel was cited. Also last week Roy Roberts, publisher of the *Kansas City Star* and a foremost mid-West Eisenhower backer, wrote a piece in which he likened McCarthy to Long.
>
> Really there is no parallel, and a newspaperman of Roberts' perspicacity should know it, even if a hall full of college professors do not. Huey was a rabble-rouser and demagogue. He resembled not McCarthy, but the Communist soap-boxers in his vehement attacks on the American system. In fact his giveaway program—"every-man-a-king"—was a Communistic, statist type of program which he proffered not in defense of our system, but as a SUBSTITUTE for it. Long would have OVERTHROWN the system. His program led straight to Communism or Fascism, or some sort of police state. (They are all alike, anyhow.)
>
> Did you ever hear McCarthy attack the American system?
>
> Did you ever hear him suggest that free enterprise and the free republic be overthrown and supplanted by something else?
>
> Of course you did not.
>
> McCarthy is not the destructive revolutionary-evangelist type at all. He is a conservative. He is first and preeminently the DEFENDER and ADVOCATE of the American system against its worst and most dangerous ENEMIES. McCarthy

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> does not have any patent-medicine formula that he is trying to sell. He is only trying to get you to appreciate and protect the product you or your forefathers had already bought!
>
> That is the distinction between Long and McCarthy. The gulf between them is bridgeless. . . .

On the basis of the record to date, Loeb is unquestionably right, with the single amendment that McCarthy should be classed as a reactionary rather than a conservative. He has consistently voted with the extreme right wing in Congress, and he has indulged in rabble-rousing in the usually accepted meaning of the term. His vulgarity and appeal to people's barest instincts—the sort of thing that in Hitlerite Germany expressed itself in the most sadistic form of anti-Semitism—should not be allowed to obscure these facts. At least up to now, McCarthy has behaved in all essentials as a man of the traditional American ultra-Right.

The last year, then, has brought the deepening of the split within the Republican Party, and the isolation of the right wing, which has simultaneously become increasingly identified with McCarthyism. The Senate censure vote, which saw the Democrats solidly opposed to McCarthy and the Republicans split almost exactly down the middle, has publicly recorded these developments and hardened the lines of political opposition and struggle for the future.

That this situation means a genuine crisis for McCarthy and McCarthyism seems clear. Paradoxical as it may sound, much of the power and importance of both the man and the movement has derived from the sheer fact that they were growing in power and importance. To all sorts of people with axes to grind and ambitions to fulfill, McCarthyism seemed to be the wave of the future. They were ready to support it, not for reasons of principle or ideology but in the expectation of practical rewards to come. If McCarthyism is now revealed as little more than the traditional right wing of the Republican Party, which most Americans recognize as the refuse of the past, much of its present support is likely to fall away, reducing it in time to the status of a reactionary sect with little importance on the national political scene. McCarthyism, in other words, has been feeding on its own growth and is unlikely to be able to survive a prolonged check to its further expansion.

If this analysis is correct, one can foresee three possible future lines of development for McCarthyism.

The first, and perhaps the most likely, is that recent setbacks will cause McCarthy himself to lose his head and in effect to destroy his own usefulness to the extreme right-wing cause. His insulting attack on Eisenhower on December 7th seems to point in this direction. The indiscriminate lashing out at all sorts and varieties of con-

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servatives as "reds," or "protectors of reds," is certain to depreciate McCarthy's one proven political weapon and to drive him into a still narrower isolation than that in which he now finds himself—the isolation of the lunatic fringe of crackpots and paranoiacs who have lost all sense of political reality and have sunk to the level of living on fear and hate. If McCarthy continues on this path, the chances are that he and his friends—that is to say, those of them who stay with him—will lose influence from here on and gradually fade out of the political picture. Needless to say, this is what every decent person, whether conservative or liberal or radical, must hope for.

The second possibility would be opened up by a certain kind of change in the international situation. If the dominant elements of the American ruling class should become convinced that the United States could win a war, or that in any case war was inevitable, the isolation of McCarthyism would end overnight and its prospects would be brighter than they have ever been. It seems to us unlikely that there will be a revival of belief in the possibility of United States victory in an all-out war with the Soviet bloc: indeed, as we get deeper into the atomic age the very idea of military victory has less and less meaning, a fact which is of course perfectly well known to the responsible leaders of American capitalism. Nevertheless, it is by no means excluded that these very same leaders, while recognizing the probable consequences of war, should still come to regard it as inevitable. Since if this were to happen, the obstacles to McCarthyism's further expansion would almost certainly diminish, we must assume that McCarthy and his friends will do all they possibly can to poison international relations, to provoke incidents, to *make* war inevitable. Again needless to say, decent people both here and abroad should recognize this danger and be on constant guard against all manner of incitation and provocation.

McCarthyism's third possible line of development, of course, is that of independent political action. If the international situation does not decisively deteriorate, and if the leading McCarthyites see no future for themselves in the Republican Party, they may decide to launch an independent political party of their own. Much could be, and doubtless much will be, written on this subject. Some observers even see in the break with Eisenhower the opening shot in McCarthy's campaign for the presidency on a third-party ticket. Maybe so. In any case, we can certainly say that the likelihood of an independent McCarthyite party is now greater than it has been in the past, even if the conditions under which it might emerge are not yet well enough defined to make detailed speculation fruitful. For the present, we content ourselves with observing—what is in any case implicit in the foregoing analysis—that if McCarthyism should

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take the road of independent political action, its progress would depend in large degree on its success in formulating a program which would enable it to break out of the right-wing isolation in which it is now mired, while retaining the indispensable financial and social support of the extreme right-wing elements. This is a political feat which, for reasons already alluded to, has never been accomplished in this country. It would be over-dogmatic to assert that it never will be accomplished, but at any rate there are no indications at the present time that McCarthyism has either the will or the ability to turn the trick.

We conclude that the outlook for McCarthyism is distinctly poor, *provided that there is no serious deterioration in the international situation.*

This may sound optimistic, but let us not belittle the gravity of the proviso. The government (particularly the Air Force and the Navy) is infested with pro-war elements, and so is the Democratic Party. Neither the Eisenhower administration nor the Stevenson leadership of the Democrats has any coherent plans for achieving a real and lasting peace. Both are wedded to a Far Eastern policy which not only ignores the true balance of power in that part of the world but also, through its reliance on and encouragement of desperate characters like Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, could touch off an explosion at almost any minute.

The international situation, in other words, remains precarious and dangerous, and as long as that continues to be so it would be folly to underestimate the chances of a McCarthyite comeback.

(December 11, 1954)

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

This country is a long way from perfection. We have the disgrace of racial discrimination. We have prejudice against people because of their religion. We have not had the courage to uproot these things, although we know they are wrong.

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower, June 14, 1953

All profits are probably never too high—whatever "too high" means.

—Clarence Francis, Chairman of the Board,
General Foods Corporation

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JOHN BROWN'S LEGACY

BY ALFRED MAUND

This is the first of a series of reappraisals of the great radicals of America's past. The articles have been planned with the advice and assistance of Harvey Goldberg, professor of history at Ohio State University. We hope eventually to publish the whole series as a separate volume with a special introduction by Professor Goldberg.—The Editors

When I was a child in Louisiana, John Brown and the wrathy Protestant God were inseparably mixed up in my mind. The songs, "John Brown's Body" and "Battle Hymn of the Republic," had much to do with this. They appeared in the school songbooks, but the teachers would skittishly refuse to let them be sung "because some people might be offended." This censorship aroused my muddled awe, and hence the "glory of the coming of the Lord" became John Brown—a terrible *bodiless* head moving over the land, withering all it gazed upon.

After I grew more sophisticated, I assumed that John Brown had been the one who confused himself with God. He was an anti-slavery settler in Kansas who had gone berserk and had raided Harper's Ferry, Virginia, upon Orders from Above. There is plenty of support for such a view of the man. Even the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1929 edition), which uniformly tries to see the brighter side of its subjects, devotes its entry on Brown to a hooting polemic that stresses the insanity in his family and the unsoundness of his plans. He did not seem to be one who could offer precepts and inspiration to a foe of latter-day slavery.

But a chance reading of his impromptu speech to the court in Charlestown on the day he was sentenced to hang yielded these burning lines:

> Had I interceded in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved . . . had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. . . .

The author is a Southern educator and journalist.

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> I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say—Let it be done. (Quoted in Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown,* 1st ed., pp. 498-499.*)

These did not seem to be the words of a crazy man. I was moved to explore further into the life of John Brown. It makes an exciting and instructive story.

John Brown was born on May 8, 1800, in Torrington, Connecticut, "of poor but respectable parents." His family moved to Ohio when he was five, where his father raised cattle on a frontier farm and worked as a tanner.

The Brown household was staunchly anti-slavery in sentiment. John's father was a voluntary agent for the Underground Railroad and served as a trustee for Oberlin College, one of the few institutions in the Midwest to accept Negro students. It was a pious household, too, and in his middle 'teens Brown went back to Connecticut, where he planned to study for the Congregational ministry. But an inflammation of the eyes cut short his school career and he returned to Hudson, Ohio, where he worked at his father's tannery.

Five years after his marriage in 1820, he moved to Richmond, Pennsylvania, where, for ten years, he prospered as tanner, land surveyor, cattle breeder, and postmaster. Not until 1834, in a letter to his brother Frederick, did he express on paper any ideas about attacking slavery:

> Since you left here I have been trying to devise some means

* All subsequent quotations are taken from this book which will be cited simply as "Villard." (1st ed., 1910; new ed., 1929) It is considered the definitive work on Brown. W. E. B. DuBois' *John Brown* (1909) relies on many sources that have been discredited but offers memorable, moving homage to the man. R. P. Warren in *John Brown, The Making of a Martyr* (1929) distorts Villard's findings in an ill-tempered, juvenile attempt to portray Brown as a common horse thief and adventurer. Leonard Ehrlich's novel, *God's Angry Man* (1932, reissued 1941), is a good fictional account of Brown's life, except that too much stress is placed on his religious beliefs. In this regard, it should be noted that Brown, in his letters, progressed from the belief that to love one's fellow man was to follow the will of God, to the belief that through love of one's fellow man one could *find* the will of God. This latter tenet hardly jibes with the picture of Brown engaging in direct colloquy with the Divinity.

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> whereby I might do something in a practical way for my poor fellow-men who are in bondage, and having fully consulted the feelings of my wife and my three boys, we have agreed to get at least one Negro boy or youth, and bring him up as we do our own,—viz., give him a good English education, learn him what we can about the history of the world, about business, about general subjects, and, above all, try to teach him the fear of God. We think of three ways to obtain one: First, to try to get some Christian slave-holder to release one to us. Second, to get a free one if no one will let us have one that is a slave. Third, if that does not succeed, we have all agreed to submit to considerable privation to buy one. . . . I have for years been trying to devise some way to get a school a-going here for blacks, and I think that on many counts it would be a most favorable location. Children here would have no intercourse with vicious people of their own kind, nor with openly vicious people of any kind. (Villard, pp. 43-44.)

This project, if Christians in free states set to work in earnest, would "operate on slavery like firing powder confined in rock," he said. But it is hard not to see in this plan a middle-class missionary society zeal of the sort that worries about teaching Hottentots the doctrine of Original Sin. Nothing came of it.

Then ensued lean and heartbreaking years for Brown in his financial ventures. In 1835 he moved to Portage County, Ohio, where unsuccessful land speculation left him penniless two years later. He wandered the country, dealing in race horses, cattle, and sheep, but with little success. In 1842 he wound up bankrupt amid a welter of litigation. In this troublous time a harder piety imbued his attitude toward slavery. His son, John Brown, Jr., recalled a family gathering at which his father

> after spending considerable time in setting forth, in most impressive language, the hopeless condition of the slave, . . . asked who of us were willing to make common cause with him in doing all in our power to "break the jaws of the wicked and pluck the spoil out of his teeth. . . ." Receiving an affirmative answer from each, he kneeled in prayer, and all did the same. This posture in prayer impressed me greatly as it was the first time I have ever known him to assume it. After prayer he asked us to raise our right hands, and he then administered an oath . . . [which] bound us to secrecy and devotion to the purpose of fighting slavery by force and arms to the extent of our ability. (Villard, p. 46.)

In 1846 Brown moved to Springfield, Massachusetts, to embark on a career as wool merchant that ended in failure and more bitter litigation four years later. Here he became more familiar with the

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leading abolitionists and met Frederick Douglass and other Negro leaders. In 1848 Brown settled his family among a colony of Negroes in North Elba, New York. The land for this settlement, high in the Adirondacks, had been given by the wealthy abolitionist Gerrit Smith. But like other projects of a Utopian cast, North Elba was not a success. Hostile neighbors, a harsh, unfamiliar climate, poor farming soil, and isolation depleted enthusiasm and resources. But, according to Oswald Garrison Villard, Brown's best biographer, the presence of the Negroes in the mountains furthered Brown's thinking about the possibility of guerrilla warfare in the southern Appalachians with a force of freed slaves.

In 1849, because he felt that "some of the principal manufacturers are leagued together to break us down" in the selling of wool, he sailed for England and the Continent in search of new markets. There, as he asserted in later years, he made special visits to various famous battle sites.

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1851, Brown recruited 44 Negro men and women in Springfield into the "United States League of Gileadites" for the purpose of resisting slave-catchers. In his "Words of Advice" to them he urged that they go about armed and "Let the first blow be the signal for all to engage; and when engaged do not do your work by halves; but make clean work with your enemies, and be sure you meddle not with others. . . . Your enemies will be slow to attack you after you have once done up the work nicely. . . ." (Villard, p. 51.) The league is not known to have engaged in any action, but Brown put his injunctions to the test of steel later.

In 1854 three of Brown's sons migrated to Osawatomie, Kansas, to aid the free state forces in the bitter "Squatter Sovereignty" contest with the slave states. According to federal legislation authored by Stephen Douglas, the status of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska would be decided by the vote of the majority of the settlers. Both North and South were rushing in emigrants, and from the neighboring slave state of Missouri "Border Ruffians" were making periodic sallies to disrupt Kansas elections and to terrify the anti-slavery camp.

When his sons set out Brown wrote: "If you or any of my family are disposed to go to Kansas or Nebraska, with a view to help defeat *Satan* and his legions in that direction, I have not a word to say; *but I feel committed to operate in another part of the field.*" (Villard, p. 79.) He had discussed his plan for armed attack on the slaveholding South with his family and friends for some time; it was now uppermost in his thoughts.

After hearing from his sons the tumultuous state of affairs in Kansas and of their urgent need for help, however, Brown made the

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first of what were to be many appeals for funds and arms from his abolitionist acquaintances and headed West. For two years he had been scratching out a living as part time shepherd and farmer, but now he abandoned all workaday concerns. He did not go to Kansas with the intention of becoming a settler. His one-horse wagon was loaded with rifles and sabers—and some surveying equipment which he later used chiefly as a shield for spying.

The anti-slavery cause looked bleak at the time of Brown's arrival in the territory in 1855. The pro-slavery settlers were in the majority, not counting their ready reinforcements from Missouri. The federal governor, Wilson Shannon, was a pusillanimous tippler inclined toward the Southern camp. Franklin Pierce, no less a hard drinker, was President and followed the counsel of Jefferson Davis, who, as Secretary of War, controlled the federal forces in the territory. The Free Soil settlers refused to acknowledge a fraudulently elected legislature, but their own governmental body adopted such curious resolutions as a declaration "that the stale and ridiculous charge of Abolitionism so industriously imputed to the Free State party . . . is without a shadow of truth to support it." (Villard, p. 104.)

Brown and his sons took a prominent part in Free Soil affairs, including the defense of the city of Lawrence when a posse of Border Ruffians headed by Shannon were outsmarted and turned back without the firing of a shot. Here Brown received the commission of captain of the "Liberty Guards" of the Kansas Volunteers.

Five months later Lawrence was not so lucky. On May 21, 1856, despite attempts on the part of the citizenry to appease a federal marshal leading a Border Ruffian force, the city was sacked and burned.

Brown and his men set out from Osawatomie to aid the city, but when they heard it was too late they stopped to await developments. Jason Brown recalled his father saying: "Now something *must* be done. We have got to defend our families and our neighbors as best we can. Something is going to be done now. We must show by actual work that there are two sides to this thing and that they cannot go on with impunity." (Villard, p. 151.) A short time later, Brown, four of his sons, and two others set out for Pottawatomie, a pro-slavery bastion. On the night of May 24, five pro-slavery settlers, including a father and two sons, were hacked and shot to death after being pulled from their beds. Brown, it is said, did not do any of the killing himself although he directed it.

These murders, plotted in cold blood, make a hard hurdle for a sympathetic biographer. They did not bring peace or victory to the anti-slavery forces of the region; in the eyes of many, they lessened the moral supremacy the free staters had enjoyed over their foes.

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Only in tough minded fashion can Brown's action be given some justification: Kansas was eventually won by Free Soil partisans because most of them were peaceful, decent settlers who persevered in the channels of lawful government. But at the moment of Pottawatomie, law and order in Kansas were in the hands of the lawless; government was by the will of distant, Dixiecratic Washington. The free staters could not match the brutish mien of the Southern brigands, but certainly their endurance and hope were not so saintly that they did not yearn for a hard-handed avenger. Brown, the stooped, eagle-visaged patriarch, stepped from the ranks of the people to play this role. However atrocious his deed, it may well have, vicariously, enspirited the God-fearing.

Charles Robinson, a prominent Free Soil leader, thought so. "I never had much doubt that Captain Brown was the author of the blow at Pottawatomie, for the reason that he was the only man who comprehended the situation, and saw the absolute necessity of some such blow and had the nerve to strike it." (Villard, pp. 169-170.) Other settlers declared that public sentiment shifted from immediate horror to general approbation. There is no doubt that Brown's name became a rallying cry wherever anti-slavery men defended their rights.

After the killings, Brown and his men took to the brush. Two of his sons who had no part in the deaths were captured and terribly mistreated by Border Ruffians and federal troops before being put in jail. Brown captured a superior force of federal troops that had set out in pursuit of him, and the troops' rescuers lacked the nerve to arrest him. William A. Phillips, correspondent for the New York *Tribune,* wrote of an interview with Brown at this time:

> One of the most interesting things in his conversation that night, and one that marked him as a theorist, was his treatment of our forms of social and political life. He thought society ought to be organized on a less selfish basis; for while material interests gained something by the deification of pure selfishness, men and women lost much by it. He said that all great reforms, like the Christian religion, were based on broad, generous, self-sacrificing principles. He condemned the sale of land as a chattel and thought that there was an infinite number of wrongs to right before society would be what it should be, but that in our country slavery was the "sum of all villainies," and its abolition the first essential work. . . . (Villard, pp. 221-222.)

Modern thoughts these; rephrase a few terms and a tenable basis for social action still remains. The former land speculator had come a long way.

After a brief trip to Nebraska, Brown boldly returned to Kansas to take leadership of a Free Soil company of raiders. On August 30

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his forces were surprised at Osawatomie by about 150 Border Ruffians determined to destroy Brown's home settlement. Brown directed a brilliant holding action and got the majority of his 30-odd followers to safety across a river. His son Frederick had earlier been killed by the assailants' vanguard. As Brown stood on the river bank watching the smoke and flames of burning Osawatomie, he told his son Jason:

> God sees it. I have only a short time to live—only one death to die, and I will die fighting for this cause. There will be no more peace in this land until slavery is done for. I will give them something else to do than to extend slave territory. I will carry the war into Africa." (Villard, p. 248.)

At the end of 1856, peace of a sort prevailed in Kansas and Brown left for Boston to seek among his abolitionist friends funds for his deferred dream of invading the South. While his mission was represented as a plan to arm a company of men for the future protection of Kansas, the inner circle of his supporters—Gerrit Smith, George L. Stearns, Frank B. Sanborn, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Theodore Parker, and the Rev. Thomas W. Higginson—learned his true aim and concurred in it.

The year 1857 was spent recruiting and training his company. Unluckily, Brown hired a soldier of fortune, Hugh Forbes, whom he had met in New York, as a military expert. Forbes soon became fed up with the project and devoted himself to blackmailing Brown's supporters by threatening to expose the scheme. His activities caused so much alarm that Brown was persuaded to make a trip to Kansas to throw off suspicion.

This Brown reluctantly decided to do. But before he left he assembled his company in Chatham, Canada, a community of free Negroes, for the ratification of a "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" and the election of officers. "Whereas, Slavery, throughout its entire barbarous existence in the United States is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable War of one portion of its citizens upon another portion . . ." the preamble began. (Villard, p. 334.) But it was a fantastic document, setting up an elaborate governmental structure for the Appalachian mountain realm which freed slaves were eventually to carve out for themselves. (One of the provisos was that all confiscated property was to be owned and worked communally.) Perhaps Brown, who counted heavily on the support of the exiled Negroes in his audience, hoped to fire their imaginations in this grandiose manner. Perhaps he knew in his heart that this paper republic was the nearest he would come to molding the future with his living hands.

In June, 1858, Brown returned to Kansas under the name of

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"Shubel Morgan." The Free Soil forces were on the ascendency, but he was determined that no quiet should reign while slavery still existed anywhere. Hearing of the plight of a Negro slave whose wife and children were about to be sold, he led a group into Missouri on December 19 and liberated eleven slaves. A slaveowner was killed in the action. At this heinous theft of property, pro-slavery forces boiled and genteel anti-slavery people blanched. But with a price of $3,250 on his head, and dodging mobs and posses all the way North, Brown escorted his charges 1,100 miles to the safety of the Canadian border, traveling 600 miles of the distance in covered wagons in the dead of winter.

To indicate how Brown again was ahead of popular sentiment: Tabor, Iowa, long an Underground Railroad depot and previously headquarters and arms depot for Brown, passed a resolution which declared "we have no Sympathy with those who go to Slave States, to entice away Slaves, & take property or life when necessary to attain that end." (Villard, p. 385.)

Then came Harper's Ferry. On July 4, 1859, "I. Smith & Sons," cattle buyers, rented a small farm on the outskirts of that federal arsenal town situated at the juncture of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers. The company assembled—eventually seventeen whites and five Negroes—and were cooped up in an attic until October 16, when their chief decided to strike. This long delay Brown attributed to financial difficulties and to the wait for more men. But it is possible that, when his Great Plan assumed the unwieldy dimensions of reality, this chronically ill, rapidly aging warrior knew, out of the scarring wisdom of bleeding Kansas, its lack of chance. He delayed to steel his will for what could only be an ultimate, all-exacting gesture of protest.

For, as Villard points out:

> The general order detailed the men who were to garrison various parts of the town and hold the bridges, but beyond that, little had been mapped out. It was all to depend upon the orders of the commander-in-chief, who seemed bent on violating every military principle. Thus, he had appointed no definite place for the men to retreat to, and fixed no hour for the withdrawal from the town. He, moreover, proceeded at once to defy the canons by placing a river between himself and his base of supplies—the Kennedy Farm—and then left no adequate force on the river bank to insure his being able to fall back to that base. Hardly had he entered the town when, by dispersing his men here and there, he made his defeat as easy as possible. Moreover, he had in mind no well-defined purpose in attacking Harper's Ferry, save to begin his revolution in a spectacular way, capture a few slaveholders and release a few slaves. So far as he had thought anything out, he expected to alarm the town and then,

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> with the slaves that had rallied to him, to march back to the school-house near the Kennedy Farm, arm his recruits and take to the hills. Another general, with the same purpose in view, would have established his mountain camp first, swooped down upon the town in order to spread terror throughout the State, and in an hour or two, at most, have started back to his hill-top fastness. (Villard, p. 427.)

As if to make sure his gestures were understood, in the event he and his party perished, Brown left behind at the farm all his correspondence dealing with his plans. Had he managed to escape from Harper's Ferry these documents would have in all probability led to his capture.

Again, putting symbolism ahead of strategy, Brown, at the start of the march, sent a detachment five miles out of Harper's Ferry to the home of Col. Lewis W. Washington, a great-grandnephew of George Washington. Here the colonel was made to deliver up to a Negro in the group a sword that had belonged to the first president.

Then, after 30 hours of fighting that was intermittently barbarous and ceremonial, but always undirectioned and hopeless, Brown was captured at daybreak, hacked down by bayonet-wielding marines in the fire-engine house in which he had become trapped. Beside him were the bodies of two of his sons, one dead and one dying. The commander of the marines was a Col. Robert E. Lee.

The alarm about the attack had been spread sooner than Brown anticipated. He refused to leave the town the morning of the 17th despite pleas to do so from his men. Then Virginia militia arrived to block off escape routes over the rivers. The rest was only a mopping-up operation.

As at Pottawatomie, public reaction quickly moved from incredulous horror to partisan appraisal. He became the covert champion of the law-abiding North, which heretofore had waged a defensive struggle against slavery. The expansionist South, with its flamboyant professional soldiers and politicians, had had all the heroes. On the other hand, the South, nervous in a collapsing economic system, saw Brown as the harbinger of war. So immediate was this interpretation that the governor of Virginia assembled a huge military guard for Brown's hanging, not so much to prevent rescue attempts or violence as to gather the state's militia for training purposes and to impress the nation with its might. Other Southern states began mustering arms and men. Soon the trigger-happy atmosphere prevailed that led to the firing on Fort Sumter.

Brown, only slightly bothered by his wounds, defended his deed against charges of insanity or vainglory with amazing skill and energy.

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When his lawyers, at the trial which began October 25, attempted to enter a plea of insanity, Brown rejected the move, saying,

> As I have remarked . . . insane persons, so far as my experience goes, have but little ability to judge of their own sanity; and if I am insane, of course I should think I know more than all the rest of the world. But I do not think so. I am perfectly unconscious of insanity, and I reject, as far as I am capable, any attempt to interfere in my behalf on that score. (Villard, p. 507.)

After he had been sentenced to die, he categorically refused to participate in any rescue attempt. "I am worth inconceivably more to hang than for any other purpose." (Villard, p. 496.) He gave lengthy and cogent interviews to all factions and hoped that this unusual opportunity for "faithful plain dealing" with leading Southerners had left them "not entirely misimproved." (Villard, p. 547.) His brave and touching letters to his family and friends were widely printed.

On December 2, as Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson—and John Wilkes Booth—stood at arms in the vast company that was to escort him to the gallows, the bearded "visionary" scribbled one last note: "I John Brown am now quite *certain* that the crimes of this *guilty land*: *will* never be purged *away;* but with blood. I had *as I now think*: *vainly* flattered myself that without *very much* bloodshed; it might be done." (Villard, p. 554.)

But is the Civil War to be considered John Brown's legacy? Could we not view the violence of Brown's life as *accidental,* a part of the context of his frontier time? (He resolutely professed he had never personally killed any man, and once declined a direct bead on the slayer of his son Frederick.) If the force of arms he advocated is modulated to mean a determination that will not shrink at the prospect of physical conflict, his true greatness is more easily inspected.

In the last analysis, Brown was not a theorist, a strategist, or a leader. He had no program, no training, no tact. He had only the dynamic belief that ethical issues were human issues and the boldness of mind to see that metaphysical conflicts were human conflicts. At the time of Brown's coming of age there was no doubt about the moral iniquity of slavery; there was no doubt that the Southern oligarchy formed a threat to republican institutions. But the existing political and economic structure made it expedient to localize one's morality and republicanism. Abolition bowed to the sanctity of property rights and practiced what it preached with pious prudence. At first, Brown, with his scheme for a school for begged or bought slaves, and his North Elba venture, followed this frictionless pattern. Then, becoming disillusioned with an economic system that deified "pure

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selfishness," he moved—a penniless, aging man beyond all thought of personal advantage—to bring the terminology of "virtue" into debate with its opposite doctrine. Not in words, which could be erased or shouted down, but in action.

The drama he enacted, as selfless hero, engrossed its spectators—Northern and Southern—on each of its stages, because its "lines" were the unspoken, combative implications of their respective philosophies. And because Brown portrayed these implications truly, the withdrawal of "men of principle" from association with him amounted, all the same, to a choosing of sides and a cleavage of the precarious unity of Slave and Free. He made "clean work" of defining thesis and antithesis; the imperfections of the synthesis must be laid to the souls of others.

John Brown was not a unique phenomenon. "Crazed, embittered failures" such as he have been lethal misfits in every moribund, oppressive system, be it in textile mill, merchant ship, graduate school, or nation. Their moldering bodies form the nightmares of masters; from their bones come pikes for slaves.

Much madness is divinest sense
To a discerning eye;
Much sense the starkest madness.
'Tis the majority
In this, as all, prevails.
Assent, and you are sane;
Demur,—you're straightway dangerous,
And handled with a chain.

—Emily Dickinson

Lay no flowers on my coffin, but a sword, to show that I too, have been a soldier in the war for the emancipation of humanity.

—Heine

Creation is not and never has been a genteel gesture. It is rude, violent and revolutionary.

—Dr. Norman Bethune

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A GOOD FIGHT

BY CORLISS LAMONT

Many people have asked me over the past year or so how it feels to tangle with the Senator from Wisconsin and how it is that I still remain in good health despite a few strains and stresses now and then. Well, there is a certain philosophy involved here, and I shall give you frankly my confession of faith.

In the great battle that is being waged today for America's freedom our chief aim must be, neither to avoid trouble, nor to stay out of jail, nor even to preserve our lives, but to *keep on fighting* for civil liberties, for democracy, for constitutional rights and whatever else we believe in. Our central purpose is not a ripe old age—although that would be nice—but the generous expenditure of our energies for the good of our country and the welfare of humanity.

Since we do not fear death in line of duty, we should not fear lesser evils, such as calumny, prosecution by the government, or imprisonment for our beliefs. Fighters for freedom throughout history have had to face similar ordeals. In our time this is a necessary part of the struggle against repression. And we should remember that American liberals and radicals in general have suffered comparatively little as compared with their opposite numbers in Europe and Asia during the past two decades.

I think that as we grow older—and I myself am over 50 now—we ought to grow more militant rather than more timorous about the basic progressive issues. For we who have lived half a century or more have already enjoyed a very interesting and varied existence, with probably a great deal of personal happiness. No dictator, no powerful demagogue, no tyrannical government, can take away our past. True, they may interfere with our future; but the important thing is that we should continue to resist and combat evil men and evil institutions as long as our hearts go on beating.

Our permanent rebellion is not a matter of force and violence; it is the daily rebellion of our spirits against the injustices perpetrated by the cruel, the stupid, the selfish, and the short-sighted. In our struggle for a better world, we find a constant challenge to our intelligence, our ability, our perseverance in the face of heavy odds.

This is an excerpt from a speech which Dr. Lamont delivered at a meeting held under the auspices of the Teachers' Union of New York City, at the Hotel New Yorker, November 21, 1954.

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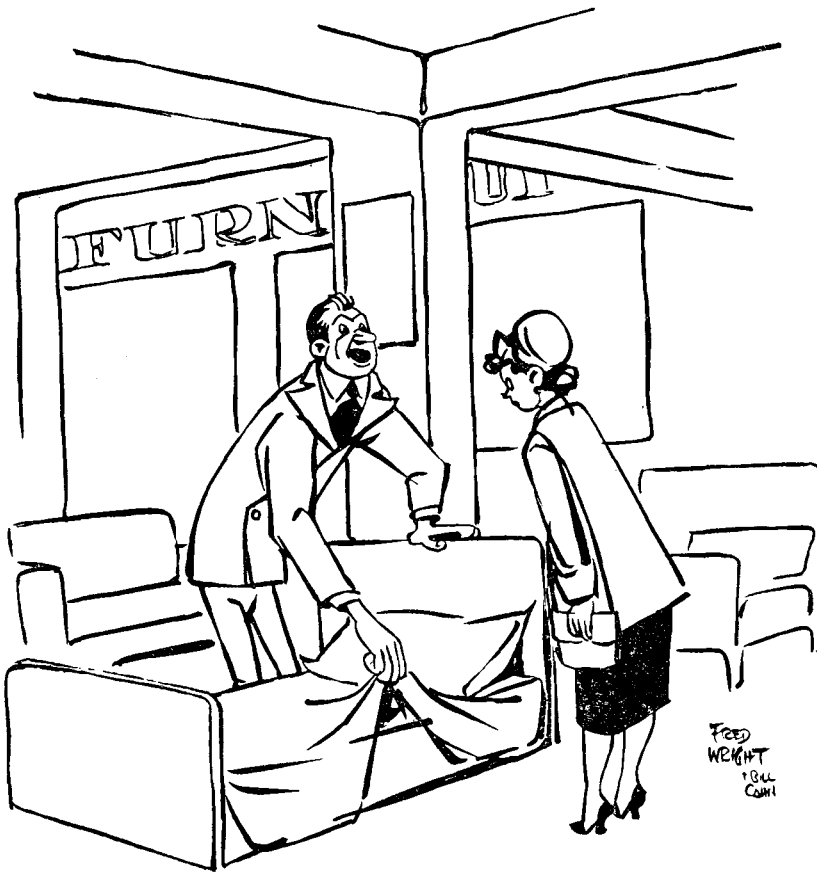
And we march forward with sensitive and courageous friends who are the salt of the earth. For my own part I must admit that nothing gives me greater pleasure than a good fight in a good cause. If I can contribute something to the downfall of Joseph McCarthy and what he stands for, I shall be a happy man indeed.



"HERE'S A BED WITHOUT LEGS ESPECIALLY MADE FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE AFRAID OF REDS UNDER THEIR BEDS."

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ON THE INQUISITION

BY HARVEY O'CONNOR

If and when the Age of Slime recedes and scholars dare to survey a distant scene, they will be indebted to Dan Gillmor. This valiant publicist, holding his nose, has waded through the tens of thousands of pages of McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde brain-washings and compressed the noisome essence into *Fear, the Accuser.* (Abelard-Schuman, New York, 1954. 308 pages. $3.00). Here in some 300 pages is the record of the 1950s, a time when our country sank to its lowest depths.

For years now the public has been floundering through this muck in the press, on radio and TV. The recent political campaign makes it plain why such hogwash is thrown before the electorate. When the major parties could offer only the combinations, War and Prosperity with the Democrats or Peace and Breadlines with the Republicans, the third possibility, Peace with Prosperity, is bound to suggest itself. Because capitalism cannot steadily maintain prosperity and peace, people must be befuddled and this sensible idea besmirched, lest they begin to glimpse the prospect of Peace and Prosperity with Socialism. That is why McCarthy and Brownell are working opposite sides of the same street.

It is just as well that Gillmor did not try to go behind the written testimony. His gruesome record confines itself to the Inquisition itself; had he also recorded the minds and spirits and bodies broken by these 20th Century Torquemadas, he would have had another *American Tragedy,* an unbearable story some day to be recorded by another Dreiser.

Here indeed is the raw material for a macabre novel worthy of a Poe or a Gorki. Artie Shaw, the band leader, befouls himself before the Un-American Committee. "Yes, sir . . . I am at a point today if someone says, 'Here is a committee for personal freedom,' I don't want any part of it." Denouncing his past, he adds: "Since then, I have never signed anything because, as I said earlier, I wouldn't sign anything today unless I had the advice of seven lawyers and the granting of permission or clearance by this committee."

Harvey O'Connor was the first person to refuse to answer questions before the McCarthy Committee on the grounds of the First Amendment. He is the author of several distinguished books, and has just completed a major work on the oil industry.

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Another abject creature out of the entertainment world, one Robert Rossen, attests to the present-day dignity of the individual before the same committee: "I did a lot of thinking. I don't think, after two years of thinking, that any one individual can ever indulge himself in the luxury of individual morality."

Debasement is not enough. The McCarthys insist that what they quaintly term "redemption" can be attained only by informing on friends. The Jenner committee puts it bluntly: "Three witnesses who admitted [former] Communist Party membership and alleged their defection therefrom defied the subcommittee on the point of their willingness to testify about personalities, and gave no other evidence of redemption." Or as Senator Welker expressed it: "How can this committee tell whether or not a man has severed his connection with the Communist Party unless he tells all the truth?" The hapless witness, being pressed to name names, pondered Welker's question and answered: "I have thought of that as you know because I wished there were a way for you to examine my brain."

Occasionally the loathsome record is relieved by comedy. Bishop Oxnam is asked if he has "any knowledge" that a certain foundation is a "Communist-cited fund"—whatever that may be. The *Daily Worker* runs an editorial captioned: "Freedom of Religion." Robert Kunzig of the Un-American Committee observes: "When the *Daily Worker* is in support of something, methinks we should question it." Senator Welker avers that the Jenner committee is "trying to clean up a political philosophy."

Fortunately, in this Darkest America, heroes share the spotlight with poltroons. A Jack McMichaels and a Lionel Stander reduce the committees to incoherent fury—the Senators (or Representatives) can only sputter, "You're in contempt," or "Throw him out." As ever, a man, alone, armed only with the courage of his convictions, can put these bullies to shame; but alas there is the legion of the cowed, the fearful, some willing to vomit over their own past, others begging for forgiveness for the only good deeds they ever did.

Dan Gillmor's book shoots straight at the bull's-eye of all this un-Americanism. It is not that we don't like Joe McCarthy's 5 o'clock shadow, that we abhor his obscene delight in the destruction of human beings. Dean Griswold of Harvard Law School put it straight when he referred to "that saddest and most short-sighted remark of our times: 'I don't like the methods, but. . . .'" The Dean is worth quoting at more length for he recalls what America was like in olden times:

> We have been through struggles of this sort in the past, and justice and liberty have always eventually won out. Indeed we have been strengthened in our liberties by each such struggle. . . .

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It was Aeneas who heartened his men by saying to them: "O passi graviori"—"Oh you who have lived through worse days."

Perhaps the Dean and Aeneas are right that there have been worse days. But those who fought the Alien and Sedition Acts had the superb leadership of Jefferson and fellow-patriots who wrote the Bill of Rights; the victims of the Palmer Raids and the Deportation Delirium of the 1920s suffered more cruelly physically, but the torture was not so exquisite. Our inquisitors are bipartisan, accomplished, persistent, and pervasive. A McCarthy, whose methods are abominable, yields to a Brownell, whose methods, fancied up with "due process" and cold calculation, aim to achieve a faceless America whose citizens fear their past as well as their future.

Lacking high leadership and mass support, the victims of these times have no choice but to fight back as best they can, hopeful that the madness may pass but determined nonetheless to stand upon their feet and not their knees. If American freedom must die, let it at least be said that some fought rather than submit. History will remember them when their persecutors are dust.

The average professor in an American college will look on at an act of injustice done to a brother professor by their college president, with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren, to predestinate and horrible death.

—John Jay Chapman, *Learning and Other Essays*

As a nation, we began by declaring that all men are created equal. *We now practically read it,* all men are created equal except Negroes. *When the Know-nothings get control, it will read,* all men are created equal except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics. *When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.*

—Abraham Lincoln, letter to Joshua F. Speed, August 24, 1855.

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Co-existence

President Eisenhower, Senator Knowland of California, and other notables spent a part of November, 1954, in a sharp controversy over co-existence. Senator Knowland began the debate in the Senate on November 15 by warning against Soviet peace moves and suggesting the severance of diplomatic relations. ("The breaking off of relations would be of greater disadvantage to the Soviet than to us.")

Senator Knowland prefaced his statement by saying that grave problems and dangers confront the republic. Then he asked: "Are 'co-existence' and 'atomic stalemate' synonymous terms? . . . Is the former merely an inevitable prelude to the latter? . . . Does not atomic stalemate mean inevitable Communist nibbling aggression, rather than peace in our time?"

The Senator answered his own question in the affirmative: "Co-existence and atomic stalemate will result in an ultimate Communist victory. . . . The Soviet Union is advancing the Trojan horse of co-existence only for the purpose of gaining sufficient time to accomplish what we may term atomic stalemate." During a period of troubled peace based on atomic stalemate, the Kremlin "will seek to take over the peripheral nations bite by bite." In the course of such a development the United States would become "a continental Dienbienphu in a Communist-totalitarian world, the chances of our winning such a struggle would be so lessened and the Soviet world so extended that they then would be prepared for an all-out challenge to us wherein we would be allowed the choice to surrender or die."

The next day, November 16, President Eisenhower commented on Senator Knowland's position in an address to the Association of Land-Grant colleges:

> We know, let us say, that the people of a certain country are suspicious of our motives, when we know those motives to be good—or are so ignorant of what we are trying to do in the world that our efforts to help are translated into efforts to dominate.
>
> Now, unless we make the effort—and I mean the effort right down at the grassroots level of our country—to understand something of the culture of that people, of its history, its aspira-

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tions, the tribulations and trials through which that people may have passed; unless we understand that, we will never comprehend why our motives are misunderstood.

In like fashion, unless those people can gain some understanding of us; of our great amalgamation of races and colors and religions and nationalities; unless they can understand how we feel; what are our loftiest aspirations; then how can we expect them to believe that someone is truly altruistic in his purposes. Or let us put it more specifically, can any nation be altruistic?

You will recall the famous article of only a few years ago, which said the greatest mistake that America makes is to assume there is morality in international relationships. But how are we going to have long-term peace without morality?

At his press conference on November 23rd, the President was more specific: "Co-existence, after all . . . had relatively a simple meaning. You either lived with someone in this world or you were fighting him and trying to kill him. As long as you were not trying to destroy, you were co-existing."

Fuel was heaped on the flames of controversy by an announcement from Peking that thirteen United States citizens had been convicted of espionage and sentenced to prison terms. War party hotheads, in and out of Congress, demanded a blockade of China. The State Department dispatched a truculent note via British diplomatic channels. The note was rejected by Peking.

President Eisenhower discussed the prisoner issue in his press conference on December 2nd. He reminded his hearers that, while the world was in a state of cold war, "the great hope of mankind is that we can find methods and means of progressing a little bit, even if by little steps, toward a true or real peace, and that we do not go progressively toward war." We must not appease, but at the same time we must not be rash, nor must we take any action that will divide us from our allies. There are two courses we might follow. One is "to adopt a truculent, publicly bold, almost insulting attitude." Such actions lead to war. The other way is "to explore every possible peaceful means of settling our differences before we even think of such a thing as war." The President then replied to the advocates of a blockade of China by pointing out that a blockade is an act of war. He added: "It is possible that a blockade is conceivable without war. I have never read of it historically."

Secretary of State Dulles took a line similar to that of the President. In a press conference on December 7th, Dulles rejected any policy based on the severance of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and declared in favor of informal talks between representatives of East and West. He also stated that the

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United States government was prepared, with Britain and France, to engage in high level conversations with Moscow after the London-Paris agreements granting sovereignty to Germany had been implemented.

All this was a far cry from Vice President Nixon's proposals for United States' intervention in the Indo-China War and Secretary Dulles' frantic and fruitless attempts to head off the Geneva Conference. Washington had evidently decided to work with London and Paris, and ultimately with Bonn, toward an ending of the cold war and a period of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union.

Is Co-existence a Trojan Horse?

The Trojan horse, filled with Greek soldiers, was admitted into Troy and resulted in the downfall of the city. Is co-existence a trick thought up by the Communists for the purpose of destroying capitalism?

As a matter of record, co-existence is a commonplace of history. There has never been a time, to our knowledge, when all nations and peoples had the same ideas, institutions, or outlooks. On the contrary, differences in culture patterns were and are all but universal. These differences are not merely between nations. They exist equally within nations. A large country like Canada has a Catholic East at odds with the Protestant West. The Irish, Welsh, Scotch and English, occupying the British Isles, see life from varying points of view. Even a small country like Belgium has a Flemish and a Walloon area, speaking different languages and following divergent customs. Tiny Switzerland houses four quite distinct linguistic groups.

Nearly two centuries ago certain North American subjects of the British Crown declared their independence, and after two bitter wars established themselves as a revolutionary republic in a world dominated by monarchies. Among the monarchs few were more anti-republican than the Tsars of Russia; yet the Russians recognized the infant American republic and for a century co-existed with it on a basis of more than average friendship and cooperation.

Similar examples may be found in the history of divergent cultures in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Co-existence is not necessarily a Trojan horse; rather it is the historical norm, which is temporarily abandoned during a war.

Co-existence Has Consequences

There is no escape from the conclusion that co-existence has consequences. Wherever two different ways of life come into contact, they tend to influence each other, through the exchange of commodities, the alteration of technics, the modification of language,

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through travel, migration and intermarriage, through the acceptance and rejection of ideas.

Where one culture is massive and its opposite number is fragile, as when the white men moved into an Atlantic Seaboard occupied by American Indians, the fragile way of life may be almost obliterated. Where both cultures are massive, as with the European seizure of South and Southeast Asia, both patterns survive—changed, of course, but essentially intact.

Present-day co-existence between the West and the East raises a somewhat different issue, however. West and East are different social aggregates facing a situation dominated by a major culture transformation—the revolution in science and technology and the inauguration of a power age. While the social patterns, West and East, differ in several important respects, they are confronted by a common problem—adjustment to economic and social techniques, drastically modified by the current revolution in science and technology. Which pattern will prove more adaptable and workable under the new conditions? The answer to that question will decide which of the two will survive and which will be subordinated or eliminated.

An example of the co-existence of rival social systems is the agreement of the slave states, in 1789, to co-exist with the free states. The Constitution of 1789 was a compromise between slavery and wage labor. The two systems co-existed, uneasily, until 1860, when a civil war ended the relationship and gave victory to the North, and to the South a period of painful economic and social reconstruction.

The path of co-existence is not a smooth one. On the contrary, it is subject to danger and, from the viewpoint of one or both of the co-existers, to disaster.

Capitalism is Waning

Today East and West, collectivism and private enterprise, face each other. For a time they may exist side by side, but their opposing ideas and methods of dealing with the problems of the power age will give the advantage to one side or the other.

The *New York Times* is incorrect in describing co-existence as "that equivocal concept thrown into the international debate by the Soviets as a substitute for real peace." (Lead editorial, November 17, 1954.) Historical forces, not the Soviets, pushed co-existence to the center of the world arena and made it, not a substitute for peace, but a means of enabling rival social systems to face each other without mutual extermination.

Experience during the last four decades would seem to support the conclusion that collectivism is waxing while private enterprise

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wanes. Much the same juxtaposition existed in the Europe of 1815, with feudal economy stepping into the wings and private enterprise taking the center of the stage.

Churchill and Eisenhower, urging co-existence, are not therefore pro-Communist, as some of the wild boys in the United States Senate and the Pentagon imply or assert. They are merely pro-survival. Both men know what every wide-awake human should realize at this eleventh hour, that if 1,000 atomic bombs and 1,000 hydrogen bombs are detonated in a short space of time by anyone, anywhere on the planet, the resulting clouds of radioactive particles, circling the planet at a high altitude, may drop enough radioactive dust to cripple, dwarf, and perhaps obliterate life on the planet.

Washington Shifts Its Line

The co-existence controversy has helped to clarify the political line that the Eisenhower Administration proposes to follow. For years Washington has tried to lead or drive Western Europe. On the question of co-existence, Washington has evidently decided to follow Western Europe.

This decision is the result of the comings and goings between Western Europe and the United States during the past few months. The conferences in Berlin, Geneva, London, and Paris, the Dulles flying trips to Europe, the visits of Churchill, Adenauer, and Mendès-France to Washington have borne fruit, not only in the proposed European Council representing the fifteen member nations of the London-Paris Alliance, but in an agreed policy with regard to Communism. The London-Paris meetings gave Germany sovereignty: France got a United States-British guarantee of armed forces on the European continent, plus an economic hold on the Saar; Britain got United States assurances that no general war would be undertaken in Asia; and the United States got an equivalent for the French-defeated European Defense Community.

But above and beyond these political plums which went to the chief participants in the Alliance, the Eisenhower Administration has evidently agreed to follow the lead of London and Paris on the vital issue of co-existence. Washington has joined the Western Alliance under these conditions despite the fact that the new orientation of United States foreign policy represents an all-but-complete abandonment of such slogans as "Communist containment," "Communist roll-back," and "massive retaliation."

Anybody's Guess

This shift in Washington's foreign policy outlook has had a profound effect upon the internal political life of the United States.

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It has led to sharp antagonism between the Republican Senate leader and the President, who is titular head of the Republican Party. It resulted in Republican Senator McCarthy's open break with the Eisenhower Administration. It has heightened factionalism in the State Department and the Pentagon. All over the United States, Republicans are being asked whether they are with the President or with the vocal minority led by Knowland and McCarthy.

Thus far the situation is clear enough. For a decade the propaganda machine of the United States Oligarchy has blared anti-Communism, with a consequent anti-Communist build-up all across the country. Almost overnight, Eisenhower and Dulles have reversed their position and come out for co-existence. Knowland and McCarthy, who have built their political reputations on anti-Communism, must now either abandon their positions or break with the Republican Administration.

From this point we must turn from history to speculation, and the course of events is anybody's guess.

Where does the Vice President stand? Will the controversy over foreign policy split the Republican Party and give the Democrats their own way in the 1956 election?

Will the Democrats who back the China Lobby and advocate preventive war join with the Republican minority to form a new political bloc or party?

If such a bloc is formed, can it go before the country and win a majority on a platform similar to that of the "Ten Millions for Justice" program (Back-to-Basic-Americanism and Extermination-of-the-Communists)? Can it amalgamate such divergent anti-Communist forces as Big Business, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the American Legion, and the trade union bureaucracy? Can it win middle-class backing for such a program? Have the anti-Communist features of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Naturalization Act of 1952, and the Communist Control Act of 1954 paved the way for the formation of such a bloc?

If the anti-Communist bloc cannot win an electoral majority, can it command sufficient backing to take advantage of the confusion and indecision in high places, mobilize its supporters, reach an understanding with the armed forces, seize power during 1955 or early 1956, and take over the administration of public affairs before the 1956 election?

The antagonisms and cleavages brought to light by the proposal to censure the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and during the current controversy over co-existence, make it evident that the American Oligarchy is loosely knit and poorly co-ordinated. It is not

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crumbling, but it is split in several directions. A regrouping seems inevitable. There are indications that the controversy over co-existence may force such a regrouping during the weeks and months immediately ahead.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

If the Communist Government of China in fact proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the United Nations.

—John Foster Dulles, *War or Peace,* 1950

Headline in the *New York Times,* November 7, 1954:

NEW RED CHINA PURGE

Now read the story that followed the headline:

TAPE MEASURES ARE ABOLISHED IN DRAPERY STORES

HONG KONG (Reuters) — Communist China has abolished tape measures in its drapery stores. Cloth piecegoods are on sale with every inch indicated by a dot, every five inches by a line across the material and every foot numbered "in brilliant white, blue and red colors."

The Tientsin newspaper Ta Kung Pao said that apart from rendering tape measures obsolete, the new practice "discouraged dishonest merchants from cheating."

I honor the generous ideas of the Socialists, the magnificence of their theories and the enthusiasm with which they have been urged. They appeared the inspired men of their time.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

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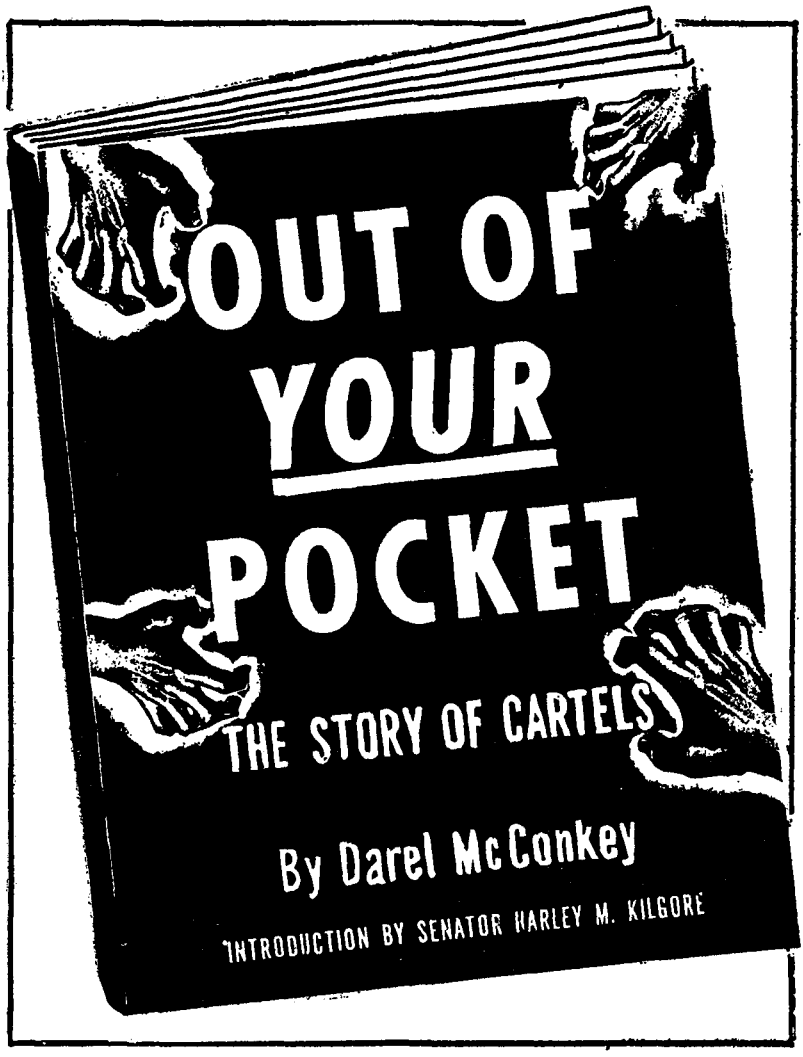

In his Foreword to the book, Senator Harley M. Kilgore says of Mr. McConkey's work: "It is different because it succeeds in doing what none of the other books [on cartels] has ever attempted—to bring home to the individual citizen how the cartel system affects him personally in his everyday life . . . a positive contribution to the literature on this vital subject."

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

ordered deported; Morton Sobell is kept in Alcatraz, normally reserved for only the most dangerous and hardened criminals; William Patterson is in prison a second time—with how many more to come?—for refusing to subject others to the peril of persecution; Irving Potash, first of the Communist leaders to come out of jail, has served his sentence for "conspiring to advocate" and now faces one twice as long for "advocating," and apparently all the other Smith Act victims face a similar fate when they in turn are released. What strikes one in these incidents is the spirit of vindictiveness which lies behind all this official hate and cruelty. Have the American people really so far lost their elementary sense of humanity that they can sit by as witnesses to this growing record of injustice without raising a voice or lifting a finger in protest?

From time to time the editors of MR get requests for earlier books of which they are authors or editors and which are now altogether out of print or difficult to locate. In order to be able to fill these orders, we keep an eye open for copies of these books and buy them up when an opportunity presents itself. We now have the following on hand:

(1) Twenty-five copies of Paul Sweezy's *Monopoly and Competition in the English Coal Trade, 1550-1850,* published by the Harvard University Press in 1938. As can be seen from the title, this is a specialized monograph of particular interest to economists and economic historians. It is bound in cloth and sells at the original price of $2.50.

(2) The last 216 copies of the cloth edition of Leo Huberman's simple, informative handbook on trade unionism, *The Truth About Unions,* which was first published in 1946. We are offering these at $1.25 a copy, which is 50 percent off the original price.

(3) Approximately 50 copies of *F. O. Matthiessen: A Collective Portrait,* edited by Paul M. Sweezy and Leo Huberman. This is the cloth-covered-book edition of MR's memorial issue to F. O. Matthiessen (October 1950) who, as most of our readers know, was largely responsible for the founding of MR in 1949. The book edition contains a biographical sketch which was not in the memorial issue. We are offering it at the original price of $2.50 a copy.

It looks now as though the appeal in the Sweezy case will not be argued in the New Hampshire Supreme Court before March at the earliest. In the meantime, knowledge of and interest in the case have been growing both here and abroad. On November 15th, Sweezy spoke at a well-attended meeting on the Columbia campus under the auspices of the Columbia chapter of the American Association of University Professors. On November 29th, Monthly Review Associates and *I. F. Stone's Weekly* jointly sponsored a meeting on "Academic Freedom and the Sweezy Case" at which Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, Professor Broadus Mitchell, I. F. Stone, and the editors of MR were the speakers. The hall was packed, and the audience contributed more than $400 to the defense fund. Both for the interest of MR readers and for the record, we are planning to summarize in next month's issue what material we can gather on foreign reactions to the case. If you have any information along this line, please send it to us as soon as possible.

We have had occasion to mention in MR an important work by the Austrian economist, J. Steindl, entitled *Maturity and Stagnation in American Capitalism.* Paul Sweezy reviewed this book in the October issue of *Econometrica* and would be glad to send a copy of the review to anyone who will drop him a note asking for it. Address: Wilton, N. H.

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